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Introduction

John V. Murra & Nathan Wachtel

In an environment of violent contrasts, frequently at the very limits of adaptive possibilities, Andean America is truly a testing ground for human and social disciplines. The societies developed here, numerous and extremely diverse, lived in isolation from the rest of the world for thousands of years, achieving most of what they did on their own. Their history followed an original, pristine course. The culmination of these processes is the emergence of Tawantinsuyu, the Inka state, one of the larger and more powerful preindustrial polities.

If such independent development were to be appreciated for the rare opportunity it provides for comparative inquiry, one could expect Andean studies to flourish. This dimension is not yet the dominant one. Nonetheless, independent of any comparative urge, our understanding of the Andean world has undergone some major changes during the last few decades, a progress not only quantitative, through an accumulation of discoveries, but also qualitative, through changes in the sources used, our methods, and the very object of our inquiry. How do we explain this mutation?

For centuries, historians, both from the Andean republics and from abroad, had centered their fascinated attention on the Inka "empire." Ever since the sixteenth century, Andean precious metals had fed fantasies of El Dorados; Andean institutions also provided "facts" for the utopian needs of writers as diverse as the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega and Marmontel. As recently as 1928, the carefully documented work of Louis Baudin was entitled *L'Empire socialiste des Inkas*. Although it is no longer fashionable to use that adjective when discussing the last Andean state, an ample if discordant bibliography is currently busy documenting "Asiatic," feudal, or slave modes of production in this region. At the third congress devoted to "Andean man and culture," in 1977, each of the above characterizations and many another had its articulate partisans.[1] What hope then for clarifying the puzzle before us?

The newcomer to these debates should note that all of these interpretations, diverse as they may seem, actually draw on the same sources, few in number and by now treated as classic. We have all been reading the letters and other eyewitness accounts of the European invasion, plus the somewhat later "chroniclers." These remain irreplaceable, but one soon becomes aware of the double filter they project between the An-

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dean event and us: The first screen was the European observer; the second, his informant, usually a member of the Cusco elite. No doubt, some of these observers, notably Polo de Ondegardo and Cieza de León, tried to get beyond the limitations distorting their queries. Aware of discrepancies among the reports of their informants, they tried to reach those who had been functioning adults before the European invasion. It does not seem too much to claim an ethnological inspiration for their work. Still, the institutions of the Inka state had collapsed with the fall of Cajamarca and the help the Europeans had received from ethnic groups such as the Wanka; whatever information about Tawantinsuyu could still be amassed in the 1540s and 1550s by Pedro Cieza or lawyer Polo was irremediably fragmentary and much of it unverifiable.

A further consideration: In the history of Andean America, the Inka state is a very recent and brief (no more than a century) experience that was itself the heir to many much earlier political formations. Even the most knowledgeable of the European chroniclers confuse these earlier achievements and attribute to the Cusco armies a civilizing mission. In fact, it had taken centuries, if not millennia, to achieve Andean productivity and managerial capacity. Attempts to reconstruct the Andean experience with the aid of such flimsy data, padded out with exotic theoretical models, seem to us to be destined to frustration.

One should mention here another approach to Andean studies: Independent of all of the above, social anthropologists, most of them from the United States but also some others trained under their tutelage, have stressed contemporary monographical research. Asking few questions about the antecedents of present-day Andean populations, they found the *comunidad* a convenient framework for their inquiries. If one ignored even the most recent past, "communities" seemed to be the basic units of the indigenous world.

To treat the community, particularly in its Peruvian context, in that way is a dubious, ahistoric venture; there is no way of projecting seriously from present-day practice to institutions four centuries earlier. Even where these monographs provide interesting information, it is hard to use it to understand the Andean world: There is no way of knowing how these "communities" came to be the heirs of the large polities we know to have been prevalent in the Andes both before and after the Inka. In fact, the communities of today are recent colonial and even republican phenomena. Fortunately, in both Bolivia and Ecuador, ethnic groups are still functioning with their own authorities and federating scores of villages.

Thus both historians and social anthropologists have reached their own dead ends. Both have held on to their particular end of a historical continuum: the macrocosm of the Inka state and the microstructure of contemporary comunidades. These two static approaches, bedeviled also by incompatibilities of scale, have remained without an intelligible link between them.

New questions had to be asked both of the traditional sources and

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of the new ones that were emerging. Sometime around 1960, Andean scholars committed themselves to a more interdisciplinary approach, linking, among other fields, archaeology with historical and ethnographic inquiries.

An example – perhaps an obvious one – of the new approaches: a rereading of the sixteenth-century dictionaries of the Andean languages. In 1560, Domingo de Santo Tomas had found himself unable to translate adequately the Quechua kin terminology he was compiling for his dictionary. Aware that he was dealing with new ethnocategories, he decided to place the topic in his grammar, since it was plain to him that he was handling more than just an intractable vocabulary. Beginning with such linguistic hints, it has been possible to connect the sixteenth-century kinship terminology with data from the parochial registers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and eventually with contemporary practice. With such methods we have begun to formulate a model for the Inka kinship system (for example, in the chapter in this volume by Floyd Lounsbury, written as far back as 1964).

Another dimension of the renewed interest of anthropologists in written sources has been their utilization of colonial administrative archives. Thousands of bundles containing litigation, tax, and census records had been available for four centuries in public and private repositories but had remained unused – perhaps because they did not convey any version of the dynastic oral tradition. When they began to be read, both historians and anthropologists could see that the issue in the Andes, as elsewhere, was not so much the availability of sources as the questions asked.

A clear example is the well-known protocols of inspections, the so-called *visitas*, of ethnic groups such as the Lupaqa near Lake Titicaca or the Chupaychu of the Huallaga Valley, both carried out by European officials in the 1560s. The second, undertaken on Phillip II's orders by Iñigo Ortiz de Zúñiga, was republished in 1967 and 1972. It had already been transcribed and printed by Father Domingo Angulo as far back as 1920: One wonders how it escaped the attention of the investigators and why it took forty years to "rediscover" it. These inspections are true field inquiries: In the case of the Chupaychu we get a thorough door-to-door census of several thousand households. Two detailed questionnaires inquired into overall resources, the kinds of crops cultivated, prestations owed to the Inka as compared to those demanded by the *encomendero*, political organization, matrimonial arrangements, religious beliefs, and so forth. Dozens of witnesses testified, some old enough in 1562 to have known Wayna Qhapaq, who died in 1530. The availability of such sources encouraged the Institute of Andean Research to sponsor in 1963–5 a study of the region covered by the visita.[2] Historians looked for further written sources; ethnologists and archaeologists cooperated in locating the abandoned dwelling units of the local lords. The archaeologists could then attempt to excavate the dwellings of these polygynous households. It was also possible to document his-

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torical continuities in ethnic organization between 1562 and 1965 in fifteen communities studied by the field-workers.

Obviously, no one would wish to retroject the present mechanically onto the past. The use of multiple tactics, all of them starting from the same series of historical hints, allows us to uncover a truly Andean link between the pre-European past and the desperate present. The tactics outlined above for the Chupaychu cannot reach beyond the local and regional levels: rather, they reveal the extreme diversity of ethnic groups and polities that both preceded the Inka state and endured long after its destruction, in some cases until today. Between the immense "empire" of the travelogues and the artificially shrunken community of today's countryside, we watch the emergence of a whole new set of intermediary structures, both temporal and spatial. The two separate ends of the missing chain can, possibly, now be joined, and with them the links between history and anthropology.

Beyond regional diversity, such a comparison reveals the profound unity of Andean civilization as well as its originality. We are able to identify an extraordinarily enduring model, which explains the Andean organization of space as a function of ecological complementarity among the diverse tiers of this broken environment. The nuclei crowded in the highlands, at altitudes above 3,500 meters, where the land was used by the bulk of the population for camelid herding and the production of tubers, reached for self-sufficiency by dispatching colonies, known as *mitmaq*, to many warmer, peripheral settlements. In this way the highlanders gained continuous access to the exotic maize, fish, hot peppers, timber, cotton, and coca leaf of the lowlands. Such complementary distribution did not imply control of the intermediate regions, beyond trying to protect the caravan routes against pirates. The pattern that emerges is one that the sixteenth-century Europeans called *salpicado*, a "sprinkled" distribution of dispersed settlements belonging to a single polity. In another metaphor, any one ethnic group's territory formed an "archipelago," grouping "islands" up and down the cordilleras and reaching west to the Pacific and east to the Amazon (see Murra 1975, article 3).

One peculiarly Andean feature is that these complementary outliers were frequently multi-ethnic: Representatives of polities quite distant from each other in the mountains found themselves in close, if tense, proximity at the periphery. These settlements were five, ten, and sometimes even more days' walk away from their respective power centers. How the tensions were resolved or how the caravans linking a polity's outliers were protected is not yet sufficiently understood (Núñez 1985).

It is nevertheless clear that in such circumstances barter or trade among the ethnic groups was reduced to a marginal percentage of the exchange traffic. This is a major difference between the Andes and Mesoamerica, where we know that large marketplaces operated on schedule and that professional merchants, frequently of high status,

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undertook not only economic but also political assignments.[3] Since 1972, when the archipelago model was first outlined at a comparative seminar organized by Angel Palerm in Mexico, efforts have been made to identify the model's geographical limits and structural limitations. Archaeologists have probed for its antecedents and early manifestations (Lumbreras 1974). Ethnologists have discovered its enduring relevance (Fonseca 1973).[4] As a result it seems that the model applied most effectively in the Qollasuyu part of the Inka realm. Polities with a nucleus on the coast or in the tropical highlands of the northern Inka periphery did not fit the model (see Salomon, Chap. 7, this volume).

Wherever it did function, the "vertical archipelago" implied a rather closed economic circuit, linking several tiers through ties of kinship, ethnic identification, and political subordination. This nesting of *ayllu*, moieties, and ethnic levels into a single pyramid can still be seen at work today, albeit in reduced, almost beggared circumstances, in Tristan Platt's essay (Chap. 13, this volume). When the Inka state expanded its dominion over hundreds of conquered polities, it attempted to project a familiar model to a vast territory and an unprecedented population. The state set up its own "islands" in the conquered domain; the local people were expected to work these lands in much the same spirit as they had harvested the acreage of their own ethnic lord or local shrine. Again, on the model of these traditional authorities, the Cusco state was expected to behave with "institutional generosity," so that this asymmetrical reciprocity would manifest itself at each level of the pyramid and on every ecological tier.

But the greatly expanded scale of operations, as a result of which the mitmaq colonies might now find themselves sixty days' walk from their homelands or assigned to garrison or mining rather than agricultural duties, argues that the organization of the archipelago had been fundamentally altered. Colonists who were sent far away from their ethnic homelands could no longer return there easily to exercise residual rights in farming, marriage choices, or worship. If to this we add the establishment of a completely unprecedented management domain, independent of local and regional interests, along the Inka highways (administrative centers, warehouses, military installations) (see Morris, Chap. 5, this volume) we can assume that the vertical archipelago was undergoing fundamental changes in the decades immediately before 1532 (Murra [1955] 1980, Chap. 8). However, it probably continued at the local, ethnic level, since we find it functioning and affecting the earliest European settlement patterns.

The kingdoms and lesser polities conquered were presumed by their rulers to be incorporated within the "realm of the four parts," Tawantinsuyu: In a way, quadripartition is an elaboration of the underlying dual division found throughout the central and southern Andes. As in many other instances where moieties prevail, we are faced with a system of classification that orders not only society but also space, time, the very universe, through a series of confronted pairs: high and low; male

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and female; left and right; summer and winter. It is notable that in this part of the world neither moieties nor their subdivisions have any exogamous functions: Preferential marriage is endogamous within the ayllu and moiety. Can we then claim that each group affirmed its identity by stressing its opposition to its immediate neighbors at comparable levels?

In fact, the deeper meaning of Andean dualism surfaces in one of its most original traits, the mirror image. The component elements of any of the classificatory categories can undergo endless bisection. Thus the upper moiety can be divided into a part perceived as the "upper upper," whereas the other becomes the "lower upper." Similarly the lower half can be partitioned into the "lower and upper halves of the lower" (and so on, indefinitely). Such subdivisions can overlap and cross each other, generating quadripartitions and devising multiple configurations, all of which depend on the observer's stance. Structuralist analyses (such as Zuidema's, especially 1964) can in certain cases clarify the internal logic of the permutations, a logic defined by its repetitive and relational character.

One can detect a structural homology in the processes of subdivision of opposed pairs, the nesting arrangement of social groups, and the closed economic circuit within the vertical archipelago. The evidence seems to favor a self-enclosed circuit of production and exchange, which, we think, could not exist in the Andes unless it faced the reflection of a circuit formed by classificatory categories as well as systematic bisection of the ethnic groups. All could be bisected, indefinitely.

We are not dealing with a hypothetical "order of orders" that would provide a definitive key to stratified structures. Most likely we are confronting here a global logic that permeated both experiences and representations simultaneously; these, in turn, were folded back into practice. All of this categorized societies that we cannot parse into the facile traditional categories of economic, social, political, or religious concerns, which are usually summoned from Western norms. The model of the archipelago cannot be reduced to its economic dimension; from its very expansion out of transhumance, it was part of a symbolic network. It presupposes an overall scheme assimilating the allocation of lands and the assertion of kin ties; attitudes toward work; the distribution of power; agricultural and pastoral rituals; and eventually, relations with the gods.

It is not so much that these elements are linked in terms of some neat parallelism: Their homology manifests itself at the level of general principles of organization. They are articulated within a system of relations in which clusters and their subdivisions are defined through mutual opposition, but they are also repeated: They nest, and they correct themselves following a variety of criteria and perspectives (the dominant Aymara, the dominated Uru, etc.). Geographically, these general principles are operative over a vast area; they provide its unity, the one we call Andean civilization.

After the European invasion, the state's institutions crumbled; local

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polities weakened and were eventually fragmented; the ethnic differences paled, but an overall scheme endured. The indigenous world readjusted under colonial domination. Thus it is notable that after the European administration ordered massive resettlement into *reducciones*, the inhabitants of the Andes (who had become "Indians") spontaneously organized these strategic villages along dualistic lines. The ayllus continued as their basic component. Many mitmaq of the state abandoned their distant exile to return to their homes; once the authority of the ethnic lords was eroded, local autonomies were strengthened at the moiety and lineage level. Regionally, vertical archipelagoes were consolidated.

The colonial system tried to impose a new logic – that of the marketplace, of a money economy, and of an organization of space based on relations no longer vertical but longitudinal, oriented to a dominant pole: the mines and the city of Potosí. But even Spanish domination could not forgo the partial utilization of certain indigenous institutions such as the *mita*. Although this reuse detaches such institutions from their native context, its continued utilization contributes to the perpetuation of an ancient framework, no matter how distorted. Colonial society was constructed from many more such Andean components than is generally recognized.

This collection is organized along three major axes, which we think are related:

1. Problems of spatial organization and the relations between the ethnic polities and the Inka state (Parts I and II)
2. Systems of classification; symbolic representations and practices (Parts III and IV)
3. The progressive erosion of ethnic groups and the emergence of the "community" (Part V)

The collection presents contributions of historians, geographers, archaeologists, and ethnologists. It does not pretend to provide an exhaustive balance sheet of Andean studies. We have aimed, rather, to offer a view of the issues under debate and some samples of work in progress that we hope will stimulate further inquiry.

Notes

1 The congress met in Lima; its *Proceedings* were edited by Ramiro Matos in 1978. The debate over modes of production can be followed in a collection edited by Waldemar Espinoza, *Los modos de producción en el imperio de los incas* (Lima: 1978).
2 See the report by Murra (1965), as well as essays supplementing the two volumes of Iñigo Ortiz's visita ([1562], 1967 and 1972).
3 For a different analysis of exchange in the Andes, see Hartmann 1968 or the paper read by Pedro Carrasco at a comparative seminar held at Stanford

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University, published in George A. Collier, Renato I. Rosaldo, and John D. Wirth, eds., *The Inca and the Aztec States, 1400–1800: Anthropology and History* (New York: Academic Press, 1982).

4 See also the symposium organized by Flores Ochoa at Americanist meetings in Paris, published as *Actes, XLII Congrès International des Américanistes*, vol. 4 (Paris, 1978), and particularly Harris 1978.

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PART I
Ecology and society

The Andean environment would seem to pose insurmountable difficulties for man, for it consists of one of the most arid coastal deserts in the world, of high plateaus that are cold and dry, and of vertiginously steep Amazonian slopes. Yet its inhabitants have used its resources in such a way that they have managed not only to survive but also to create a series of civilizations that confer upon the Andes, for all their diversity, a remarkable cultural unity. Even the most isolated valleys have been open, sometimes repeatedly in the course of millennia, to external influences. Thus archaeologists have come across objects of Chavin, Tiwanaku, or Inka origin some hundreds of kilometers from their place of manufacture, along with remains from the local tradition.

In this first part of the volume, Olivier Dollfus analyzes the diversity of Andean environments through both time and space, and Ana María Lorandi examines the factors that seem to account for the spread of the three great "horizons" that succeeded each other before the European invasion. These two essays complement the article by Lautaro Núñez, who evokes the destiny of the Tarapacá Valley over what turns out to be truly a long haul (from 6,000 B.C. to our day). The ecological circumstances of this valley, located today in northern Chile, were perceived and rated in the most varied ways by the many societies that have succeeded each other: The successive changes in the settlement pattern and in the awareness of potential resources are witness to the multiplicity of possible solutions and to their originality.

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1
The tropical Andes: a changing mosaic

Olivier Dollfus

The Andes are the most imposing mountain mass in the tropics. Those who live there have for millennia made full use of the possibilities offered by an ecological mosaic utilizable from sea level to an altitude of around 4,500 meters. The spatial organization of Andean society is rooted in this ecological diversity, but this mosaic has itself altered over time, in response either to climatic change or to human activity. Ecology is in fact variously interpreted, depending on the techniques available from the space and on the aims of the particular society. We must therefore consider how, in the Andes, space acts as a material constraint upon social organization, and how the ecological mosaic is exploited, experienced, and perceived.

Ecological diversity

The richness of the ecological mosaic may be attributed to the strips of land being ordered in a succession of tiers, explicable in terms of the drop in temperature accompanying a rise in altitude. The alternation of damp and dry, sloping and horizontal, forested and deforested, and the presence or absence of human planning further complicate the mosaic. There are in fact several hundred basic physiognomical units, or "geo-facies," in the tropical Andes, whereas the Alps can lay claim to only a few dozen and the mountains of the far north to fewer then ten. This opulence permits a large number of possible ecological combinations, some of which, in the course of history, the Andean societies have adopted.

The diversity of Andean natural environments has been a central theme in geographical research for the past two centuries. Alexander von Humboldt gives an account of the main forms of vegetation in the South American cordilleras, explains their distribution, and inquires as to their part in determining the use of space. A little more than a century later, Carl Troll, after his first researches in Bolivia, provides the essential elements for a geo-ecological interpretation of the Andes and analyzes the manner in which the peasantries and the pre-Columbian and colonial forms of political organization exploited the natural resources of these environments. He demonstrates the difference between the northern Andes, on the equator, which are lower, damp, wooded,

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